3: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1934) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

wife dies she ought to be replaced by her sister. The counterpart to this custom of the sororate is the levirate, the raising up of seed to a dead man by one of his brothers. A widow is normally taken by one of her dead husband's brothers, though if she chooses to live with a more distant kinsman of her husband her widow will be respected. Occasionally she is taken by one of her husband's sons by a different wife, but this is *ramo nind* although not *kwer* (forbidden) it is not encouraged because it is thought that the union will not be fruitful. When it happens, it is a young and recently married wife who is taken by the son, sometimes at the express wish of the father. Brothers are the proper *owuon* for widows and the proper guardians of their children. It is customary to get a *jaunwa*, Bantu, or *jakad*, a person outside the clan, to sleep with the widow before the brother does so, in case the husband's ghost is troublesome. The trouble will then fall on the Bantu or stranger. 587

It must be clearly understood that the taking of a widow by her dead husband's brother is not a remarriage. No bridewealth is paid, and any children the brother may beget by the widow are called after the dead husband and not after him. The dead husband is their *pater*. His brother is only their *genitor*. If they are girls, it is their brothers and not the man who begat them who receive their bridewealth. The begetter receives only the two animals due to a father's brother, one of which is referred to in these circumstances as the cow of the begetting (*ahar nyuak* or *ahar ndeg*). Also, one does not use the verb *kondo*, the ordinary word for marrying a wife, in reference to the widow, but *siwo* or *adagu*, which have the sense of taking a woman to live with her. The widow is *ei dend*, the wife of the grave, that is, the wife of her dead husband.

Law

Luo practise very extensive *avoidance*, as part of a general attitude of respect (*luor*), of their wife's people—whom the husband calls *kaswa* (my in-laws). If a man meets either of his parents-in-law on a path he makes a detour, and if he has to speak to them he does so with his back turned to them, especially when he speaks to his mother-in-law, who also turns her back to him. Even to-day when men wear clothes a son-in-law does not visit his mother-in-law without a strip of hide over his genitals. A man who neglects these rules is said to be *nungnuf*, to have staring eyes, and he makes a gift in compensation for his negligence. A man respects the whole lineage into which he has married. He can face the younger people but not their elders. He respects also the older people of the lineage of his wife's maternal uncle, for they are also his *awe*, his in-laws. The husband's brothers respect only his parents-in-law and their immediate kin of their own generation. 606 576 [611]

When the wife has borne a child the rules of avoidance are relaxed and as the years go on and more children are born relations between a man and his parents-in-law become more informal. A ceremony is held, perhaps after the birth of the first child, to enable the husband to enter his mother-in-law's hut and partake of a meal there instead of keeping strictly to the *siuko* on his visits to her home. The wife's parents send the *jagam* to summon him and his relatives and friends—all those whom the wife calls *kaswaga*, my husband's people—and when they arrive there are set before them in the mother-in-law's hut a large dish of fish, beer, melted butter, and the cooked meat of an ox killed to celebrate the occasion. They are invited to eat. The husband is silent but his brothers say that they cannot eat till they are given a goat. 606 574

3: Evans-Pritchard E-S (1934) 1950 FL11 Luo FL11

The people of the house pass them to eat, but they refuse, so a goat is brought into the hut and shown to them. It is taken by the husband's eldest brother. Then they eat. The mother-in-law and the father-in-law offer a gourdful of beer to their daughter's husband, after taking a sip from it themselves, and he drinks from it and passes it to his senior brother. The husband's brother then presents a gourdful of beer to the father-in-law. When the feast is finished the husband's people depart for their home.

Ciew

It was remarked that after defloration a bride is given a small public covering and a *ciew* or 'tail'. This last is the sign of a woman's married status, and I wish to say a few words about it before concluding my article. Till recent times girls, like youths, were naked, except when they wore some small covering for ornament or public ceremonies, and it was only after her marriage had been consummated that a woman began to wear a 'tail'. The one handed to the bride after defloration is borrowed from her husband's brother's wife. Later she is given one of her own. Up till the final ceremonies of marriage a bride may remove her *ciew* when in her parents' home, though she must wear it in her husband's home. Once she is fully married she must never be without it, and even to-day, when women wear trade cloth, they wear their 'tails' as well. In the old days a married woman usually wore nothing in front, but she was never without her *ciew*. Indeed, I was told that a husband may divorce his wife for being without it. Women have two kinds, one for everyday wear and a more elaborate one for ceremonial occasions. A divorced woman continues to wear her 'tail' if she has borne her husband a child. Otherwise she discards it. A widow's first act on hearing of her husband's death is to remove her *ciew* and throw it on to the roof of her hut.

Résumé

LES COUTUMES DE MARIAGE PARMI LES LUO DE KENYA

La forme coutumière du mariage parmi les Luo comprend plusieurs étapes. Un jeune homme, ayant choisi sa future épouse et obtenu son consentement, engage des pourparlers avec ses parents. S'il est accepté comme prétendant, une partie de ses amis enlèvent la jeune fille et l'emmènent chez le futur époux où, dans la hutte des célibataires chez lui, elle est défloré par le prétendu ou par un autre jeune homme de son propre village qui l'ont suivie à cet endroit. Après une semaine environ, la famille de la mariée fournit un festin, qui est consommé chez la mère du futur époux. Quelques jours plus tard, la mariée rentre chez ses parents, accompagnée par des jeunes filles de son village et des membres de la famille du futur époux. A ce moment, l'époux doit commencer la remise du bétail de mariage et, jusqu'à ce que le paiement soit complet, la mariée le quitte de temps en temps et retourne dans son propre foyer, d'où le futur l'enlève avec un semblant de violence. Lorsque tout le bétail a été remis, l'époux peut garder la mariée, mais il ne construit une hutte séparée pour elle qu'après la naissance d'un enfant. Jusque-là, le couple habite la hutte des célibataires.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Loo FL11

Forward teeth, etc.—They draw the six middle incisors in the lower jaw. If a man does not have these teeth drawn it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage. The women tattoo a pattern on the chest and stomach, consisting of thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine, where they turn upwards. Males are not tattooed. The tattooing is done simply for ornament.

Circumcision.—They do not circumcise. If a man has killed an enemy in war he shaves his head three days after his return from fighting. He moreover does not enter his village until a live fowl has been hung round his neck, the fowl is then decapitated and the head of the fowl left hanging from the man's neck. Shortly after his return a feast is made to the man who has been killed, in order that his spirit shall not come and trouble the victor.

Dress, etc.—Unmarried men go naked. (Plate V). Married men who have a child wear a small piece of goat skin; this piece of goat skin is a most important matter for a married man, for although practically useless as a covering he must on no account call to see his mother-in-law without this dress or she will be desperately hurt and insist on his paying up a goat. Even if he is properly clothed in European garments he must wear his goat skin underneath. Unmarried girls wear no clothes (Plate VI). Married women wear a tail of strings behind but not in front, like the Northern Kavirondo. Married women when they go to visit another village wear a goat skin slung from the shoulder, upon which curious patterns are cut. When a married woman first shows the tail, her husband presents her with a goat, which she sends to her father. It is very bad manners in unmarried woman to serve up food to her husband without wearing her tail, and the husband will probably refuse to eat the food. This rule even holds if the woman should be wearing garments of cloth. If a man touches a woman's tail it is said that he wishes to bewitch her, even the husband must not touch it; if this rule is broken it is necessary to kill a goat.

Many of the Je-Luo affect rather a notable ornamentation of the ear; about fifteen small holes are pierced along the outer edge of the ear and in each hole a ring of brass is inserted, and on the front side the brass is flattened out like a small leaf, to the outside extremity of each ring is attached a blue bead. In the lowest hole in the lobe of the ear a plain brass ring is inserted.

For a long time I thought that these blue beads were ordinary trade beads of the variety known as *kiteti*, but upon inquiry this was indignantly repudiated, and it was explained that these beads were picked up in the fields in the neighbourhood of the Mavuglia Hills after a heavy thunderstorm, and that it was believed that they descended with the rain. Some of the chiefs also wear beads of jasper and chalcedony with a fine circular hole; these beads were formerly of great value and were purchased at the rate of one cow per bead; they were picked up in the same way. Their name for these beads is Nya-Loo, and it is thought by some authorities that these beads have wandered down in ages past from the direction of Egypt; in fact some of the more Northern Nilotic people tell you that they

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1928) 1928 FLII Lun FLII

would have supplied sufficient food for the whole village (about 50 people) for 3 months. — When all the beer is finished the bridegroom's father asks his boy whether his son may now build his wife a hut, and whether she may stay with him definitely. The worthy parents will answer: "No, not yet, because the heifer for the father of the girl *(mush wasenj)* is to be brought still."

Now the relations of the bridegroom go home taking a binding of the cow along, which is to be carried by the bride. But she will say: "It does not behove that I should walk along the road with my father-in-law, I will come later." Somebody of the party carries the leg, and she follows next day. Henceforward she is allowed to enter her mother-in-law's hut, where she does the cooking for her husband, and stays no longer in the simba. Unless she is with child already she goes home again after a few weeks, because her father has not quite released her yet, and she still plays about with her girlfriends.

When her husband has found the heifer still wanted by her father, he takes it to him. Again he asks leave to build a hut for his wife. If the father agrees he returns with his wife and starts building at once. The woman stays with her husband definitely, for the full dowry has been paid.

Some time later the woman's father brews beer and sends word to his son-in-law, who gathers his brothers and friends to go to this beer party *(kusch kwapa)*. All of them except the husband himself go to the hut of his mother-in-law, where the beer should ready. Not until he has given her either a goat or a sheep is he allowed to enter. This animal has to be handed over not by the husband himself, but by a relation of his. With this beer party the full marriage ceremony ends.

The woman, though she has her own hut now, goes on cooking in her mother-in-law's hut. Five months after she has conceived she has regularly to take *youth ayala* which medicine has to be warmed up every time before taking it. This she does in her own hut. However, the evening before she boils this medicine for the first time, the children of the kraal pick some vegetables and cook them in the woman's hut. This is the first food cooked there. Both husband and wife, and also the children who cooked, deem partake of these vegetables.

From now onwards she cooks all the food in her own hut, but her husband is not allowed to eat any of it yet. He goes for his meals to his mother's hut. After about 4 days the woman goes home once more to fetch a goat for her husband. With the goat and also some other meat and fish she returns to her husband. When this food is cooked she calls her husband and the men of the village for a little feast. On this occasion she gives the goat to her husband, thereby sealing the contract with him *(civisa chiwete)*.

Burial of a married Man.

In the olden days the death of a warrior was considered to be brought about by some enemy through witchcraft. This death had to be revenged. So the very next morning, before the man got buried, people got ready for a fight, and went out to the boundary of a hostile tribe to wage a war against them. No sooner was the warcry raised or the hostile tribe got ready too, and came to the boundary. Both parties took some of their cattle with them. After the fight the victorious party took the opponents cattle as spoils.

19: Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Loo FL11

the hamlet unit, by conclusion of the age group were shown them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies.

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the guest hut of a homestead where they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (*Dholuo simbi*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of suitable girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simbi* age mates at marriage.

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the more effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latters' households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nero*) and father's sister (*nyar*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,[1] and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is

[1] e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a suicide girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless, or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated ceremonially as a female woman.

17; Southall E-5 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Loo FL11

4. Liver and remaining ribs and ribs: for all the women of the homestead. 613
5. Kidneys: for the woman's sisters still in their mother's house and their friends. 583
6. Customary portion for the eldest married daughter of the woman's mother. 606
9. Customary portions to be eaten, some raw, some cooked by her, by all the elders assembled for the distribution.

It is worth while to treat this one rite at length, because it is the prototype of so many others. Its especial significance is that it takes place at the lowest level of segmentary organization, that it is bound to occur in every family as often as a daughter is married off, and that it draws into a structured participation not merely lineage leaders and senior elders but every man, woman, and child in the family. When the Loo youngster of either sex begins to grasp why, on certain occasions, it receives a special supply of kidney or ribs to roast on the fire with its playmates, its education in the theory of lineage structure has begun. The same holds true for all the wives of the man who bring home their portions of meat to be cooked, and share them with favourite wives or children, or allow them the scraps. [867]

There are many other occasions on which meat has to be ritually divided. In every 613
case a similar procedure is followed, with the same articulation of lineage structure. 782
There are the sacrifices previously mentioned, which are made to the ancestor indi- 769
cated by the diviner as the cause of some misfortune. Sacrifice is also made usually within a year or so of the death of any elder of importance, and the level of lineage whose major segments are called to share in it depends upon the dead man's status. If he took part in the councils of the maximal lineage its major segments would certainly be called; if he was of less importance the major segments of a lineage at some lower level would be called. A further custom occasioning a demonstration of lineage segmentation is that whereby an elder of importance chooses a bull to be eaten after his death, the segments of his lineage dividing it among themselves according to principles similar to those of rite.

Besides sacrifices, every beer party, of whatever size and on whatever occasion, is 613
also a display of lineage structure at one level or another. These parties are exceed- 574 •
ingly frequent, and most frequent of all in the comparative leisure of the dry season, 273
when there is a pause between the completed harvest and the next cultivation not yet begun. At this time few weeks will pass without a beer party somewhere in the vicinity, and often they follow on one another for days on end. In every one there is a core of elders who epitomize the structure of the lineage segments participating in the occasion. This is all quite apart from the small quantities of beer which old [571]
men like to drink with two or three neighbours independently of any ceremonial pretext. But all parties of any size have a ritual occasion, whether it be one of the innumerable occasions resulting from death which are strung out over a period of at least one and often two years, or in connexion with marriage, or [illegible] the settlement of the periodic and seasonal affairs of a class A lineage.

In the larger beer parties the pitchers of beer are distributed among lineage seg- 613
ments in the same way as are the joints of meat after a sacrifice. In all of them the 574
order of drinking is strictly determined by lineage seniority, starting with the repre- 576
sentatives of the major segments of the superordinate lineage, in the order of seniority of their eponymous ancestors, and downwards through the subordinate levels of the line particularly concerned. The level of major segments involved is always an index

17: Southall E-9 (1946-1947) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

of the importance of the occasion, and of the status of the individual concerned in it, and the procedure further epitomizes the internal structure of these groups.

For present purposes the significance of all these usually occasional social gatherings is that their place of meeting is always the family homestead, and in this way from time to time even the remotest members of the least important family have vividly impressed upon them the segmentary principles of the social structure to which they belong. The underlying economic and domestic arrangements through which these assemblies are, as it were, financed by the provision of food—which may be required to feed large numbers of people for days on end—themselves entail a subsidiary marshalling of lineage organization. Convenience dictates that the families most concerned in this shall be those which are not only agnatically but spatially nearest to one another. This means that the levels of structure epitomized are similar to those involved in the *nia* ceremony. The primary organizational responsibility falls on the chief wife or widow of the homestead of assembly, who orders the contributions of its other female household heads. Then the senior wife of the head of the *oyawa* group at the next higher level of segmentation has a like duty to organize the contributions of her group, followed by the female heads of each *oyawa* co-ordinate to hers in order of genealogical seniority. After this the next higher level of segment is called into play, and so on, the number of subsequent levels which must be called upon depending on the scale of the occasion, as reflected in the numbers of those who attend and the length of time that they stay. Thus not only as members of the entertaining homestead, but also as members of the many neighbouring homesteads drawn in to assist in the commissariat, the housewives and elder daughters who cook the food, the young children of both sexes who must run as messengers and act as carriers of the food itself, all repeatedly have impressed upon their experience the lower levels of the lineage structure which permeates their society. In the rural isolation of a subsistence economy these are the events which loom large on the social horizon, occupying the mind and feeding conversation. It is hardly surprising that a people like the Luo grow up with a complete practical grasp, at a level which requires no abstract formulation, of those principles of social organization which seem at first so intricate and confusing to the outsider.

Oyawa segments within the minimal *dhoot* and *gweng'* also act as mutual assistance groups. It is within them that cattle may be borrowed for making marriage payments. Nowadays it is the members of such groups who rely on one another for the loan of small sums of money required in the many transactions resulting from new needs. They tend to meet for consideration of any matters of common concern; these meetings are rather informal, but usually recognize the leadership of the member who is eldest by lineage seniority, and are often accompanied by the drinking of beer.

VII. THE MECHANISM OF SEGMENTATION

It is now possible to give further details of how certain class B segments (*oyawa*) within a minimal class A lineage achieve class A status themselves as units of primary settlement, the basic segments in the articulated system of *gweng'* and *dhoot*. When this occurs, of course, the previous minimal class A segment is raised from its